

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /031 W
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R 261923Z JUN 74 ZFF6
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1249
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BRUSSELS 4583

EXDIS

SECTO 32

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (NIXON, RICHARD M.)

SUBJECT: TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S OPENING STATEMENT TO NAC, JUNE 26, 1974

HEREWITH TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S OPENING STATEMENT TO NORTH
ATLANTIC COUNCIL, BRUSSELS, AS DELIVERED MORNING OF JUNE 26,
1974:

BEGIN TEXT: MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL, DISTINGUISHED MINISTERS
AND COLLEAGUES:

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WHEN THE NATO TREATY WAS SIGNED IN WASHINGTON TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, PAUL-HENRI SPAAK CALLED IT "AN ACT OF FAITH IN THE DESTINY OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION." THE DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS WHICH WE WILL SIGN TODAY IS A REAFFIRMATION OF THAT FAITH.

THIS DECLARATION RECOGNIZES THE IMPORTANT ROLE THAT OUR ALLIANCE HAS PLAYED FOR TWENTY FIVE YEARS IN PROTECTING OUR FREEDOM AND VARIETY AND IN BUILDING A STRONG, PROSPEROUS EUROPE. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT LAYS THE GROUND WORK FOR ANOTHER QUARTER CENTURY OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION, SOLIDARITY AND SECURITY.

OVER THE PAST DECADE MANY HAVE PREDICTED THAT A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION WOULD SERIOUSLY WEAKEN THE ALLIANCE. OTHERS FORECAST THAT ECONOMIC STRAINS WOULD LEAD TO AN UNRAVELING OF THE FABRIC OF COOPERATION THAT SUPPORTS THE ALLIANCE. TO MOST COMMENTATORS, NATO COULD NEVER SURVIVE A COMBINATION OF BOTH.

NATO HAS NOT ONLY SURVIVED BUT TODAY, WHEN TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ARE AT THE LOWEST POINT IN YEARS AND OUR ECONOMIES ARE UNDER SIGNIFICANT PRESSURES, WE ARE SIGNING A DECLARATION THAT FORMS THE FOUNDATION FOR AN EVEN BRIGHTER FUTURE OVER THE NEXT 25 YEARS.

NONETHELESS WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THIS IS A TIME OF TESTING. A NEW LEVEL OF STATESMANSHIP, OF POLITICAL WILL AND VISION, IS REQUIRED TO MEET THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES NOW BEFORE US. I SHOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS THREE OF THESE IN MY REMARKS THIS MORNING--OUR ATLANTIC RELATIONS, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

ATLANTIC RELATIONS
THE FIRST PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO ASSURE THE COMMON DEFENSE. THE PURSUIT OF THIS OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN IN RECENT YEARS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE PROFOUNDLY AFFECTED IN THE YEARS AHEAD BY THE
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CHANGE IN STRATEGIC RELATIONS. LET ME PUT IT BLUNTLY--THE WEST NO LONGER ENJOYS THE NUCLEAR PREDOMINANCE IT ONCE POSSESSED.

OUR COUNTRIES HAVE RESPONDED TO THIS CIRCUMSTANCE IN A NUMBER OF WAYS;

--WE ARE NEGOTIATING TO REDUCE THE THREAT OF CON-

FRONTATION AND TO STABILIZE THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT;

-- THE UNITED STATES HAS BEGUN TO ADOPT DEFENSE MEASURES WHICH ARE MORE APPROPRIATE TO THE WIDE RANGE OF CONTINGENCIES WE FACE, THEREBY ENHANCING THE CREDIBILITY OF OUR NUCLEAR DETERRENT TOGETHER WITH THAT OF THE UK AND FRANCE; AND,

-- ALL OF US HAVE DEVOTED INCREASED EFFORTS AND RESOURCES TO IMPROVING OUR CONVENTIONAL FORECES.

WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO CINTINUE ALL OF THESE ENDEAVORS.

FOR OUR PART, I RENEW MY PLEDAGE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE ITS FORCES IN EUROPE IF THERE IS A SIMILAR EFFORT BY OUR ALLIES. WE WILL NOT REDUCE THEM UNLESS THERE IS RECIPROCAL ACTION BY THE OTHERSIDE.

UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS IN CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE CAN HAVE REPERCUSSIONS FAR OUT OF PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF MEN INVOLVED AND THE AMOUNT OF MONEY SAVED BECAUSE THEY CAN SET IN MOTION A CHAIN OF REDUCTIONS WHOSE CONSEQUENCES COULD BE TRAGIC, NOT ONLY FOR THE ALLIANCE BUT FOR EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.

DEFENCE AND DETANTE ARE COMPLEMENTARY TO EACH OTHER. A STRONG DEFENSE IS THE BASIS FOR OUR PURSUIT OF DETENTE -- A WEAK DEFENSE IS THE SUREST WAY OF WEAKENING THE SOVIET INCENTIVE FOR RESTRAINT. WE MAKE THIS POINT CLEARLY AND OFTEN WITH THE AMERICAN CONGRESS AND WITH OUR OWN PEOPLE, AND WE HOPE ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE

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WILL DISUCSS FRANKLY WITH THEIR PEOPLE THE DANGERS OF REDUCING OUR FORCES UNILATERALLY.

LET THE DECLARATION WE SIGN TODAY PROVIDE NEW MOMENTUM AND NEW SUPPORT FOR THE DEFENSE OF OUR NATIONS AND A SOUND BASIS FOR SEEKING BETTER AND STABLE RELATIONS WITH THE EAST.

BEYOND THAT, THE UNITED STATES IS ENCOURAGED BY THE DIRECTION AND PACE OF RECENT EFFORTS TO GIVE MORE MEAININFUL DIMENSIONS TO OUR PARTNERSHIP -- DIMENSIONS BEYOND THAT OF DEFENSE. FIVE YEARS AGO, WE STRENGTHENED THE ALLIANCE BY AGREEING TO SHARE OUR EXPERIENCES AND RESOURCES IN IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF OUR PEOPLES. THE DECLARATION WE ARE SIGNING TODAY CAN MARK

A NEW MOMENT IN ANOTHER VITAL AREA: THE RECOGNITION
THAT INTENSIVE AND FRANK CONSULTATIONS ARE THE CEMENT
THAT BINDS OUR ALLIANCE TOGETHER.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /031 W

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BRUSSELS 4583

EXDIS

SECTO 32

CONSULTATION SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS A LEGALLY
BINDING OBLIGATION. THAT IS NOT THE PURPOSE OF OUR
DECLARATION. RATHER CONSULTATIONS SYMBOLIZE A SPIRIT OF
COOPERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE WHICH THE UNITED STATES
HOPES WILL GROW INTO A RECOGNITION THAT NO ALLY SHOULD
CONSIDER TAKING ANY ACTION AFFECTING THE OTHER ALLIES
WITHOUT SEEKING THEIR COUNSEL AND THEIR UNDERSTANDING.

THE LEGAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONFINED
GEOGRAPHICALLY, BUT IT IS EQUALLY TRUE -- AND EVENTS
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OF THE PAST YEAR HAVE PROVED IT -- THAT THE SECURITY
AND INTERESTS OF ALL OF US CAN BE INTIMATELY AFFECTED
BY EVENTS THAT OCCUR OUTSIDE THE FORMAL AREA OF OUR
OBLIGATIONS. FOR US TO OVERLOOK THIS FACT, OR TO
BELIEVE THAT WE CAN COMPETE OUTSIDE THE ALLIANCE AND
COOPERATE IN THE ALLIANCE, IS A DANGEROUS ILLUSION.
JUST AS DETENTE CANNOT BE USED SELECTIVELY, THE
SPIRIT OF ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT BE SELECTIVE EITHER.
THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THIS REALITY, AND WE
REAFFIRM TODAY OUR DETERMINATION TO CONSULT FULLY ON
ALL MATTERS WHICH AFFECT THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES.

FINALLY, AS WE RECOGNIZE IN OUR DECLARATION OUR
COMMON DEFENSE AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATION MUST BE SUS-
TAINED BY COOPERATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ECONOMIC RE-
LATIONS. THE U.S. WILL APPROACH ECONOMIC ISSUES IN
A SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND IN THE CONVICTION THAT THE
COMMON GOAL IS TO BENEFIT ALL OUR POEPLER AND THOSE
OF THE WORLD AT LARGE, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES IN WHICH ALL OF US HAVE AN INTEREST.

THE MOSCOW SUMMIT
AS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS INDICATED, WHEN I LEAVE
HERE TOMORROW, I WILL GO TO THE THIRD OF MY SUMMIT
MEETINGS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV.

I WANT TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE WITH WHICH WE VIEW
THIS WESTERN SUMMIT AND THE POSITIVE IMPACT IT WILL
HAVE ON OUR DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW. OUR MEETING TODAY
SYMBOLIZES OUR UNITY IN MOVING FORWARD TO SECURE PEACE.
IT CONSEQUENTLY IS THE ESSENTIAL BACKDROP TO MY TALKS
WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV AND HIS COLLEAGUES.
THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS BRIEFED THE RECENT FOREIGN
MINISTER'S MEETING IN OTTAWA ABOUT THE DETAILS OF OUR
FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS -- THE PROBLEMS WE WILL CON-
FRONT, WHAT WE EXPECT CAN BE ACHIEVED, AND WHAT WILL
HAVE TO BE THE SUBJECT OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. AND
CONSEQUENTLY I SHALL CONFINE MYSELF TO STATING OUR
GENERAL APPROACH.

NO SOVIET LEADER HAS EVER BEEN LEFT IN THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT
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THAT THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS THE FIRM AND FUNDAMENTAL BASIS FOR THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO US-SOVIET RELATIONS. INDEED, IT IS MY IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS A CLEARER APPRECIATION OF THE VIGOR OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE THAN WE SOMETIMES DO OURSELVES.

ESSENTIALLY, THERE WILL BE THREE ASPECTS TO THE MOSCOW SUMMIT. WE WILL EXCHANGE VIEWS ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. WE WILL HAVE AN EXTENSIVE REVIEW OF THE ENTIRE STATE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF ARMS CONTROL. AND WE EXPECT THAT NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS WILL BE SIGNED IN VARIOUS COOPERATIVE AREAS AND POSSIBLY ON SOME ARMS CONTROL MATTERS.

WE ARE GOING TO MOSCOW NOT WITH ANY ILLUSIONS, BUT IN THE CONVICTION THAT DETENTE IS NOT AN AUTOMATIC PROCESS AND REQUIRES CAREFUL EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AND BROADEN IT.

WE ARE ALSO CONVINCED THAT CONTINUING WESTERN COHESION IS THE KEY TO THE ABILITY OF WESTERN NATIONS --NOT ONLY THE U.S. BUT EVERYONE AROUND THIS TABLE-- TO ESTABLISH A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE NATO DECLARATION WILL MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THIS END.

THE PRESENT SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS BECOME PERSONALLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE POLICIES OF DETENTE. THE STRAITS THEY HAVE IN THESE POLICIES HAS LED TO RESTRAINT IN EUROPE, IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND IN DIRECT CONFRONTATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. SHOULD DETENTE FAIL NOW, FOR WHATEVER REASON, THE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE PROFOUND, LONG-LASTING AND POSSIBLY IRREVERSIBLE. BY THE TIME SOVIET LEADERS REGAIN THE CONFIDENCE TO ATTEMPT A MODERATE COURSE WITH THE WEST AGAIN, CRITICAL DECISIONS ON STRATEGIC WEAPONS WILL HAVE BECOME IRREVERSIBLE AND THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY FOR A LASTING PEACE MAY BE LOST

WHAT DOES DETENTE DO FOR US? FIRST, IT GIVES US A CHANCE TO TRY TO BRING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE UNDER CONTROL BEFORE IT CAN GET OUT OF HAND. SECOND, IT

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CREATES AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH PROBLEMS RANGING FROM ENERGY TO PEACE CAN BE ADDRESSED CONSTRUCTIVELY.

THIRD, IT BUILDS UP A NETWORK OF EAST-WEST TRADE AND COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS THAT SHOULD REINFORCE MUTUAL

RESTRAINT AND MAY GRADUALLY GIVE WIDER SECTIONS OF
SOCIETY IN THE EAST A STAKE IN PEACE.

WE HAVE WITNESSED IN RECENT YEARS A TENDENCY TO
BELIEVE THAT PERMANENT PEACE HAS ARRIVED AND THAT WE
NO LONGER NEED A STRONG DEFENSE OR A VIGOROUS DIPLOMACY.
THOSE WHO HOLD THIS VIEW SEEM TO FEEL THAT THE EMERGING
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EAST IS SO SECURE THAT IT CAN
BE BURDENED WITH GREAT NEW DEMANDS.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THIS TENDENCY IS BASED ON
AN ILLUSION. WE DO NOT SHARE THAT ILLUSION. WE WILL
BE GUIDED IN MOSCOW BY TWO PRINCIPLES:

--FIRST, WE WILL NEITHER ASSUME NOR CONVEY A FALSE
SENSE OF EUPHORIA; WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR VIGILANCE AND
OUR SUPPORT FOR WESTERN UNITY.

--SECOND, WHILE WE WILL PURSUE AND WILL DEFEND
OUR BASIC VALUES AND POSITIONS, WE WILL ATTEMPT TO
TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SOVIET PERCEPTIONS AND INTERESTS IN
ORDER TO FIND THE GROUND FOR AGREEMENT THAT ARE IN
OUR MUTUAL INTEREST.

ON THE CSCE, ON MBFR AND ON ALL OTHER MULTILATERAL
ISSUES IN WHICH THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES ARE EN-
GAGED, AMERICAN POSITIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE DEVELOPED
IN FULL CONSULTATION AND CONCERT WITH OUR ALLIES. WE
WILL CONSULT FULLY, AS WE DID BEFORE, ON SALT. WE
WILL NEVER SACRIFICE THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES TO
ACHIEVE AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN ANY AREA.
THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILL BRIEF OUR ALLIES FOLLOWING
THE SUMMIT AND YOU WILL SEE THAT THE PROMISES TO CON-
SULT WE HAVE MADE WILL BE CARRIED OUT.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /031 W

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BRUSSELS 4583

EXDIS

SECTO 32

THE MIDDLE EAST
NOW I WANT TO SAY WORD ABOUT MY VISIT TO THE MIDDLE
EAST. THE RECENT CRISIS THERE AND THE FIRST TENTATIVE
STEPS TOWARD ITS RESOLUTION, IN WHICH THE SECRETARY OF
STATE PLAYED A BRILLIANTE ROLE, HAVE PROVIDED THE
CLEAREST POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATION THAT ALL OF US HAVE
A STAKE IN MAINTAINING PEACE OUTSIDE OUR OWN BOUNDRIES.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL HIGHLIGHTED TWO LESSIONS FROM
THE MIDDLE EAST IN HIS MOST RECENT POLITICAL APPRAISAL.
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THE FIRST IS THAT CONSULTATIONS ARE IMPERATIVE WHENEVER
INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS EXERT AN INFLUENCE OVER EAST-
WEST RELATIONS. THE SECOND LESSON IS THAT DETENTE,
WHILE INDIVISIBLE, IS NOT NECESSARILY IMMUTABLE. THE
IMPORTANT PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN RECENT
YEARS DID NOT PREVENT THE CRISIS ON ELIMINATE THE
THREAT OF CONFRONTATION. AT THE SAME TIME, BY PRE-
VENTING A MORE SERIOUS CRISIS AND FACILITATING THE
BEGINNINGS OF A POSSIBLE SOLUTION, DETENTE IN THE
MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, PROVED ITS VALUE.

THERE ARE OTHER ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS
AND ITS AFTERMATH WHICH SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED
HERE.

THE PETROLEUM CRISIS HAS BROUGHT HOME TO ALL OF US THE EMERGENCE OF GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE. INTERDEPENDENCE, WITH ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR STRENGTH, FOR OUR SECURITY, FOR OUR PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY, IS NOW AN INESCAPABLE FACT OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE.

IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT EACH OF US MUST SUPPORT THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. BECAUSE OF OUR UNIQUE POSITION AND THE DESIRES OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES CONCERNED IN THE AREA, THE UNITED STATES MUST CONTINUE TO PLAY A CENTRAL ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF SEEKING A REALISTIC DIPLOMATIC ALTERNATIVE TO WAR, A ROLE WE WILL PLAY ON A STEP-BY-STEP BASIS. WE MUST RECOGNIZE AND WE DO RECOGNIZE THAT OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE VITAL INTERESTS THERE AND WILL WISH TO PLAY SUBSTANTIAL ROLES OF THEIR OWN. WE WELCOME THAT ACTION AND INTENT BY OUR ALLIES. WE HOPE THAT OUR ACTIVITIES IN THE AREA CAN BE COORDINATED SO THAT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER FOR PEACE AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

FINALLY, THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ILLUSTRATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EVOLVING US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. LET ME SPEAK VERY FRANKLY AND CANDIDLY ON THE SUBJECT. DESPITE RESERVATIONS ON THEIR PART, BECAUSE THEIR INTERESTS ARE DIFFERENT, THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT CREATE SIGNIFICANT OBSTACLES DURING THE

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DISENGAGEMENT NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIET UNION HAS ENDORSED THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND HAS ACCEPTED THE RESULT ACHIEVED SO FAR. THIS GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH HAS NOT BEEN EASY FOR THE SOVIET UNION, BUT IT HAS BEEN IMPORTANT FOR US ALL. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE DO NOT FACE VERY SIGNIFICANT OBSTACLES IN PURSUING A MEANINGFUL PEACE.

CONCLUSION

MY VISIT HERE, BEFORE GOING ON TO MOSCOW, DEMONSTRATES AMERICA'S PRIORITIES. SIMILARLY, THE DECLARATION WE SIGN HERE TODAY DRAMATICALLY DEMONSTRATES THAT THE UNITY OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS THE FIRM BASIS OF ALL OF OUR EFFORTS TO ENGAGE OUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES IN A NEW ERA OF EAST-WEST COOPERATION.

FIVE YEARS AGO, IN ADDRESSING THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY SESSION OF THIS COUNCIL, IN THIS ROOM, I TOUCHED ON THE IDEALS WHICH GUIDE THE ALLIANCE -- THE IDEALS OF DECENCY, JUSTICE, LIBERTY AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF OUR FELLOW MEN. THESE ARE THE IDEALS AT THE VERY HEART OF WESTERN SOCIETY, WHICH OVER THE

CENTURIES WE HAVE, EACH IN HIS OWN WAY, STRUGGLED
TO WIN AND DEFEND.

THE DEFENSE OF OUR IDEALS AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF
OUR FREEDOMS WILL CONTINUE TO REQUIRE OUR COMBINED
AND DEDICATED EFFORTS -- THE PARTICIPATION OF EACH
MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE AS A FULL PARTNER IN THE
PURSUIT OF OUR COMMON OBJECTIVES. AT THIS 25TH
ANNIVERSARY SESSION, I REAFFIRM THE DEDICATED PARTI-
CIPATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ON MANY OCCASIONS I HAVE DESCRIBED THE UNITED
STATES RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE AS THE CORNER-
STONE OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, NOT JUST FOR
THE ATLANTIC AND EUROPE BUT FOR THE WHOLE WORLD. AS
WE LOOK TO THE NEXT 25 YEARS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC
ALLIANCE, LET US DEDICATE OURSELVES TO KEEPING THE
ALLIANCE STRONG SO THAT IN DEALING WITH THE PRESSING
ISSUES OF OUR TIME, NATO MAY ALSO BE THE CORNERSTONE
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OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY. END TEXT.
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